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The Havasupai Woman

By CARMA LEE SMITHSON

ROBERT ANDERSON, Editor

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THE HAVASUPAI WOMAN

Carma Lee Smithson

Number 38

April, 1959

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
Department of Anthropology
University of Utah

[Title page]

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah 121
as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly 114
read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has
been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report.

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months 114
spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman.

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation [122]
for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a
research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and
evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including origi- [124]
nal informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication.

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data 115
presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement.

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai 114
Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter

114 papers, resulted from his field work in 1918, 1919, and 1921. My debt to Professor Spier will be self-evident to Southwestern scholars.

No attempt has been made to detail all credit due Spier for data to be found in his monograph. To do so would be a formidable task, since accounts by present informants closely parallel information recorded by Spier on the same subjects. Spier is cited where his monograph includes material not in my notes, where an idea has been put forth or developed by him, where it seems pertinent to note that Spier's observations differ in any degree from mine or that a culture change has occurred since his investigation, where it seems applicable to bolster an observation by noting that Spier referred to a similar example, and where Spier is directly quoted. In the interest of brevity (both as to manuscript length and time involved in an exhaustive search of literature, most of which is not indexed), only one example from Spier or other sources is cited, although additional references to the subject may occur in a publication.

I wish to express my appreciation for assistance received from the
122 University of Utah Research Fund. It made possible much of the field work on which the present publication is based.

I am indebted also to my husband, Harold Murray Smithson, who financed my first and fourth field trips.

Members of my thesis committee were generous in their efforts to eval-
000 uate and to improve the original paper. They include Professors Elmer R. Smith, chairman, and Henry Frost and Robert Anderson, committee members. Professors E. Adamson Hoebel and Edward Norbeck also acted for a time as committee members.

Many individuals have given me encouragement and invaluable assistance. My friend, Lois Snider, now Mrs. Lee Fetzer, shared the problems and inconveniences of the initial field venture. Verne B. Brown, author and professor emeritus of Santa Monica College, observed and took an interest in my field study. I owe to Mr. Brown a special debt, for at a time of difficult decision, it was he who urged that I apply for a fellowship and complete the Havasupai project.

Others who have assisted in ways too numerous to be described here are the following: Laetitia Viele, Episcopal missionary; David and Muriel Chambers, missionaries of the Supai Bible Mission; Marian and Victor Collins, former day school teacher and present resident agent, respectively; Mr. and Mrs. Olaf Barnard, former resident agent and day school teacher, respectively; Austin F. Ladd, assistant superintendent, Truxton Canon Agency, Valentine, Arizona; and Asahel Perry, extension agent, Valentine, Arizona.

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Assistance and advice on technical subjects were given in personal interviews and communications by the following: Rees Anderson, M. D.; F. W. Christiansen; Francis Findlay; M. D.; L. J. Lull, M. D.; Royal D. Marks; Charles E. Morelock; Dan Oniki, M. D.; Leo Schnur, M. D.; and Douglas W. Schwartz. The late Frederick Douglas kindly placed at my disposal publications in his excellent collection.

I wish to express my appreciation to my friends, Carol Condie Stout, Evelyn Knight, and Gweneth G. Mulder, who typed the original thesis and made helpful suggestions on organization and style. Thanks also are due Kent Stout, who made the original drafts of maps.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

000

	Page
Preface	i
List of Illustrations	vii
Chapter	
I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING	1
Natural Environment	1
The Reservation and Its Administration	13
Tribal Origin and Classification	17
Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name	18
Intertribal Contacts	19
Political and Social Organization	19
The Economy, Old and New	21
Religion	27
Summary	31
II. INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD	33
Infancy	33
Names and Naming	40
Children in the Social Group	41
Economic Training	44
Play	44
Aggression and Quarrels	49
Discipline	50
Illegitimacy	51

(Continued on following page)

000

Page

Children of Divorced Parents 54
Care of Orphans 56
Deviant Personalities. 58
III. PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE 59
Recognition of Puberty 59
Mythical Origin of Menstruation 63
The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore 64
Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices. 69
Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences 73
Illegitimate Births 79
Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity. 80
Social Behavior and Relationships 81
IV. MARRIAGE 83
Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage 83
Courtship and Trial Marriage 87
Marriage Arrangements 94
The Marriage Gift 97
Forms of Marriage. 100
Availability and Age of Marriage Partners 102
Residence after Marriage 108
Divorce 110
Relationship Between Husband and Wife 113

(Continued on following page)

Page

000 V. MOTHERHOOD 116

Conception and Pregnancy 116

Contraception and Abortion 122

Childbirth 123

Relationship between Mother and Children 127

Old Age 130

Death 133

VI. ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE 135

Division of Labor 135

Recent Employment 138

Ownership and Inheritance of Property 139

Arts and Crafts 143

The Food Complex 147

VII. LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION 152

Tribal Government 152

Shamanism 155

CEREMONIES AND OTHER PUBLIC ACTIVITIES 156

VIII. CONCLUSION 164

Bibliography 168

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures Page 000

1. Cataract Canyon viii
2. Havasupai fields and orchards. 2
3. Havasupai reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and Forest boundaries 4
4. The reservation in relation to Cataract Canyon . . 6
5. The reservation in relation to topography. 7
6. Fields in Cataract Canyon 8
7. Waterfalls below village 9
8. Shelter and storage cist 11
9. Havasupai dwellings 15
10. Mail delivery 16
11. Sweat lodge and bathers 29
12. Infancy and childhood 33
13. Activities in Havasu Creek 46
14. Adolescence and youth 60
15. Maturity 117
16. Old age 129
17. Women weaving baskets 144
18. Manufacture of a cradleboard 146
19. Women grinding corn 148

Tables

1. Mean age of spouses at marriage 105a
2. Residence of family heads with respect to age. . . 105e

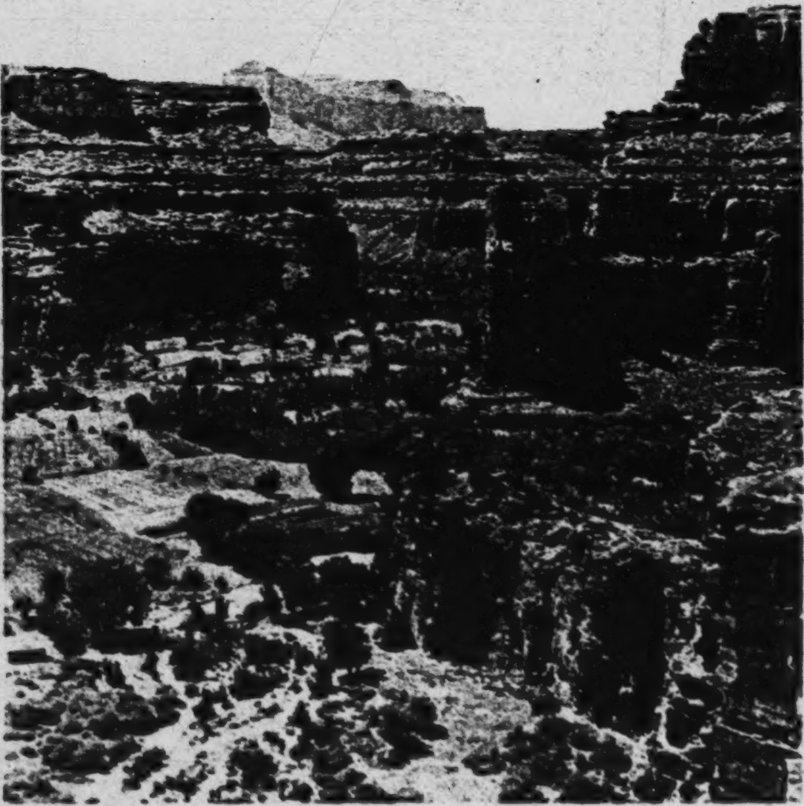

Fig. 1. Cataract Canyon, looking south from the old Apache trail. Twin monoliths, the Wegaleva, extend from the canyon wall at right. The Whitewall rises on the horizon in the distant background. The rock promontory, jutting from cliff in right foreground, has ruins of fortifications once used for defense against raiders.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed . 121

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). 131

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [618]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. 133

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

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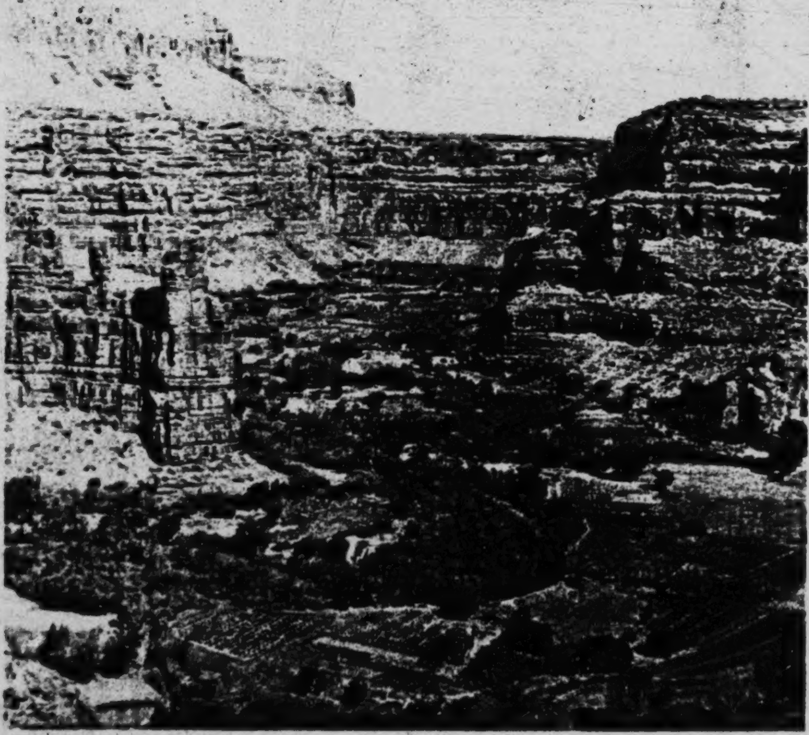

Fig. 2. Havasupai fields and orchards in Cataract Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wealeva at left. The summit of the Redwall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as center and right horizon. The Whitewall rises above the Esplanade at left. Caves or rock shelters formerly used by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located at top of steep talus at the base of the Redwall.

system on the north and west. From the top of the San Francisco Peaks to the bed of the Colorado River, and within a span of about 60 mi., there is a difference in elevation of roughly 10,000 ft. Elevations on the plateau are between 6000 and 7000 ft., while the Havasupai farmlands lie on the floor of Cataract Canyon at an elevation of 3200 ft. This altitudinal range is accompanied by a change in climate with significant differences in flora and fauna. 133

Geology

The geology of the Grand Canyon, which contains one of the most complete stratigraphic exposures on earth, is a striking feature, but beyond that it is of particular importance in relation to the water supply.

The Coconino Plateau is formed by the Kaibab limestone, which exhibits some karst topography and is extremely pervious. The mountains to the south and east are mainly basalt, being of volcanic origin, and a number of smaller cinder cones dot the landscape. The San Francisco Peaks have no permanent surface streams draining from their slopes, and it has been speculated that subsurface drainage from this area may be one source of the springs which emerge from pervious geologic strata in Cataract Canyon.

The Cataract Canyon drainage system, one of the major tributaries of the Colorado River, drains a region roughly rectangular in shape, approximately 50 mi. wide and some 60 to 70 mi. long, comprising an area of about 3500 sq. mi. Its southern boundary extends from Mt. Floyd and Bill Williams Mountain on the west to the San Francisco Peaks on the east. The area includes a major part of the Coconino Plateau.

Although, in this semiarid climate, the thirsty soil with its struggling plant cover and the underlying pervious limestones of the plateau absorb much of the precipitation, the torrential rains and sudden winter thaws so characteristic of desert country produce flood conditions in the lower canyons, an ever threatening hazard for the Havasupai. [132]

The Cataract Canyon drainage system originates in shallow valleys and deeper arroyos eroding the surface Kaibab limestone. The trellis pattern of arroyos on the plateau channels all run off into two canyons, Lee's and Walapai, which are the major tributaries of Cataract Canyon. The two main horse trails entering Cataract Canyon also follow these two tributaries. [487]

Cataract Canyon is formed by a broad upper gorge defined by the massive Coconino sandstone standing in sheer walls 1000 ft. high. Locally designated the Whitewall(Fig. 1) this prominent cliff has a talus composed of the Hermit shale which gives way to the Esplanade, a broad shelf sloping gently to the rim of the canyon's inner gorge.

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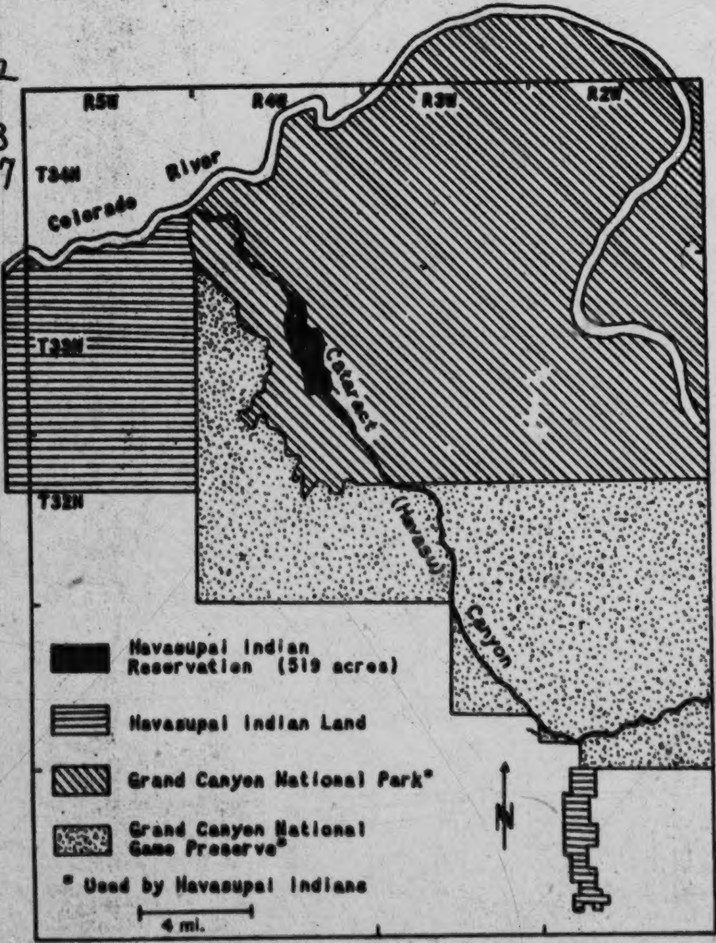
R5W
R4W
R3W
R2W
T34N
T33N
T32N
Colorado River
Cataract
(Havasu)
Canyon
Havasupai Indian Reservation (519 acres)
Havasupai Indian Land
Grand Canyon National Park*
Grand Canyon National Game Preserve*
* Used by Havasupai Indians
4 mi.
N

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles 133 away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of [103] sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below.

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence 221 pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate 312 term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures [342] to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining [361] factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry [241] to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers.

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, 241 which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail 312 and which was farmed by the Havasuapi in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 311 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation.

In Cataract Canyon,*a short distance above the village area, numerous 133 springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being 312 deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,*swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house.

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*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usuage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

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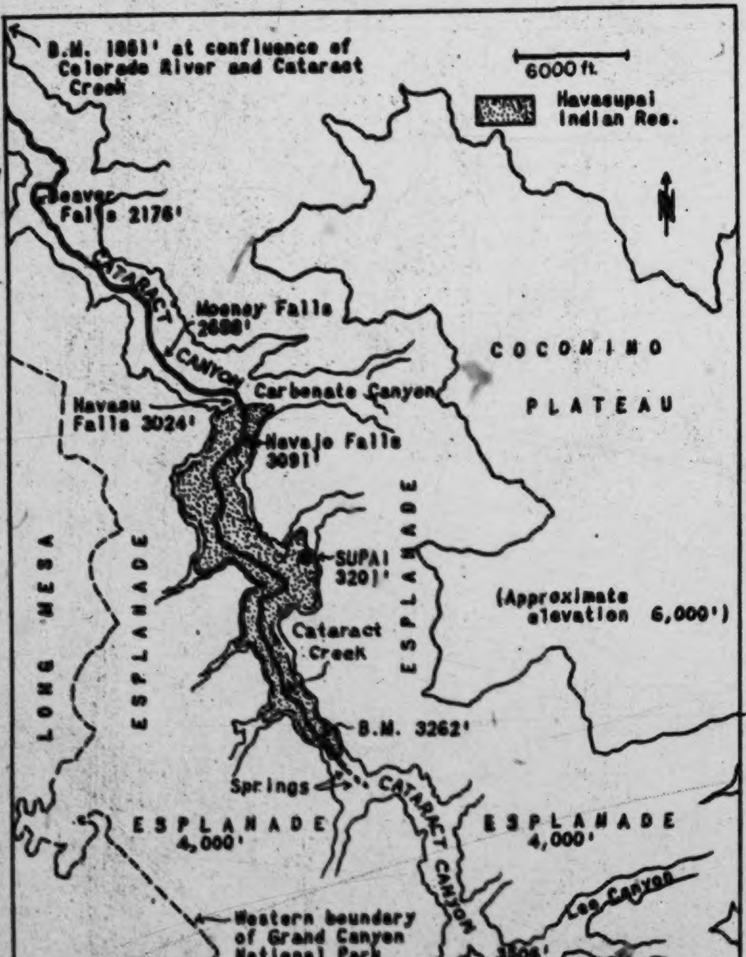
B.M. 1861' at confluence of Colorado River and Cataract Creek
6000 ft.
Havasupai Indian Res.
N
Beaver Falls 2176'
CATARACT CANYON
Mooney Falls 2688'
Carbonate Canyon
Havasu Falls 3024'
Navajo Falls 3091'
COCONINO PLATEAU
SUPAI 3201'
(Approximate elevation 6,000')
LONG MESA
ESPLANADE
ESPLANADE
Cataract Creek
B.M. 3262'
Springs
ESPLANADE 4,000'
CATARACT CANYON
ESPLANADE 4,000'
Lee Canyon
3506'
Western boundary of Grand Canyon National Park

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

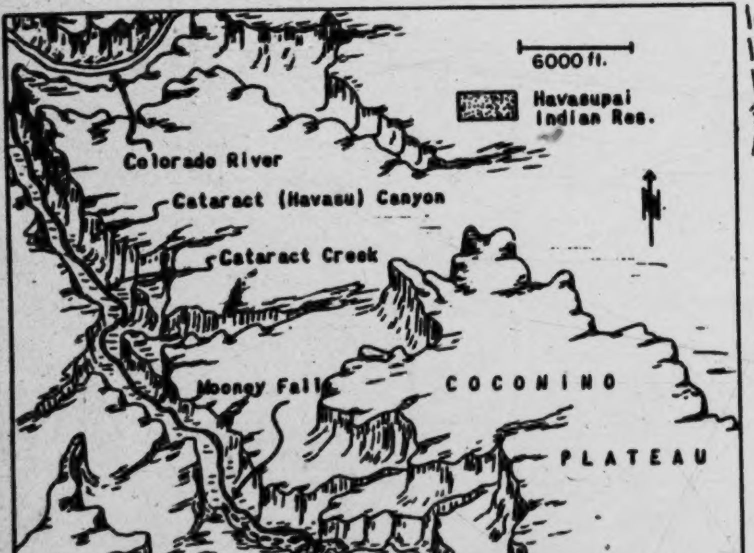
6000 ft.
Havasupai Indian Res.
N
Colorado River
Cataract (Havasu) Canyon
Cataract Creek
Mooney Falls
COCONINO
PLATEAU
LONG MESA
ESPLANADE
SUPAI
ESPLANADE
Walapai Trail
Topocoba Trail

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

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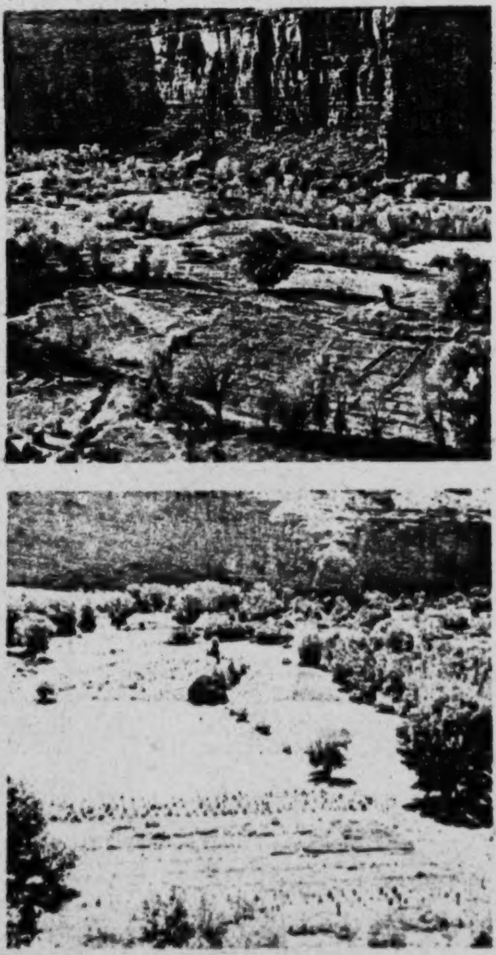

Fig. 6. Fields in Cataract Canyon. Irrigation water is diverted from Havasu Creek onto fields by means of a system of laterals and smaller ditches. Individual plots are dyked for flood irrigation.

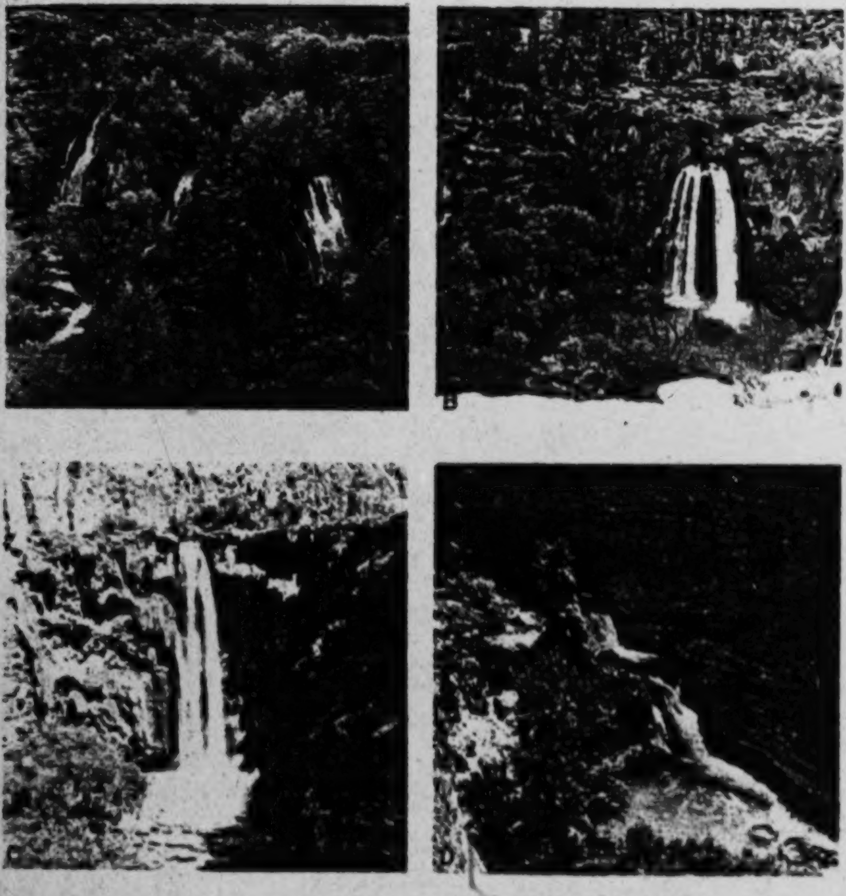

Fig. 7. Waterfalls below village. A, Navaho Falls, 80 ft. high. B, Havasu or Bridal Veil Falls, 110 ft. C, Mooney Falls, 220 ft. D, Beaver Falls, about 25 ft.

133 731 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suf- [312] fered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 [648] About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 311 731 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft. fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 648 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but *freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air* is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

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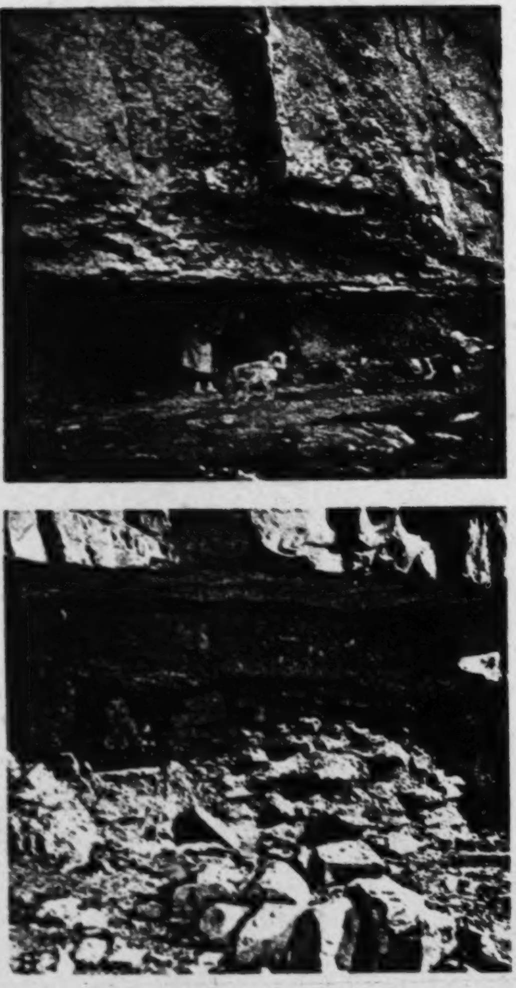

Fig. 8. Shelter and storage cist. A, Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied during gardening seasons before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon. B, Storage cist constructed of stones and formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Siyuja.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families oc-
cupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of
[361] the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bear-
able than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, com-
[221] bined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.

Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes
137 within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate
along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine.
Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a
variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal,
and some of the other food plants of the plateau, are also found on the Espla-
nade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from
canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations.
Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties
of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were
harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the
predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a
winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and
many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches.
Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind traver-
tine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet
[276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed)
is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have ex-
perimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
361 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land.
312 Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area
below the village which, until about 30 years ago, was well populated. The
canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance
of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by
means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the
canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes
used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba
and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into
Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 80), and
the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates
177 their Hopi origin (Spier 1948, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John
D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times.
Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter 245
three kinds. 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, 241
squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), 177
cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60).

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game 136
animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions 262
were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now re- [224]
stricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai do not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River.

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of 657
an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and 131
the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were
added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs [423]
used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the
Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation [231]
proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952).

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 657
100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21).

657 Some time after 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital eventually was closed. In recent years, until 1956, first aid was given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provided medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and temporary hospitalization at Grand Canyon hospital, located 49 miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases were sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly 1953, 57; Leo Schnur, M.D., personal interview, 1952).

In 1956, the United States Bureau of Public Health took over the Havasupai health program. A clinic at Peach Springs, about 75 miles from Supai, is staffed with a doctor and a nurse. The doctor comes to Supai to hold a clinic one day every three weeks. Patients are sent to Kingman or Phoenix for services of a dentist or an optician. Hospitalization is available at Phoenix, Kingman, and Grand Canyon. Helicopter service for emergency cases is available from Luke Air Force Base near Phoenix. All medical service is provided free of charge.

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871 A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, was staffed with one teacher for preprimary through fourth or fifth grade until it was closed about 1956. All students now attend Indian Service boarding schools located in Arizona and Nevada.

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later, students were sent to Fort Mohave, near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade.

Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistance [762] among parents. Suicide of one youth about 1900, while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for school. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teenage daughters in camp work, and it is said that parents "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

Now that elementary school pupils must be sent away from home, Havasupai children begin first grade at the age of seven. In 1952, 10 of 61 school age children were not attending (Kelly 1953, 56). Probably an increased percentage of Havasupai children now are attending school.

[Text continues on page 17]

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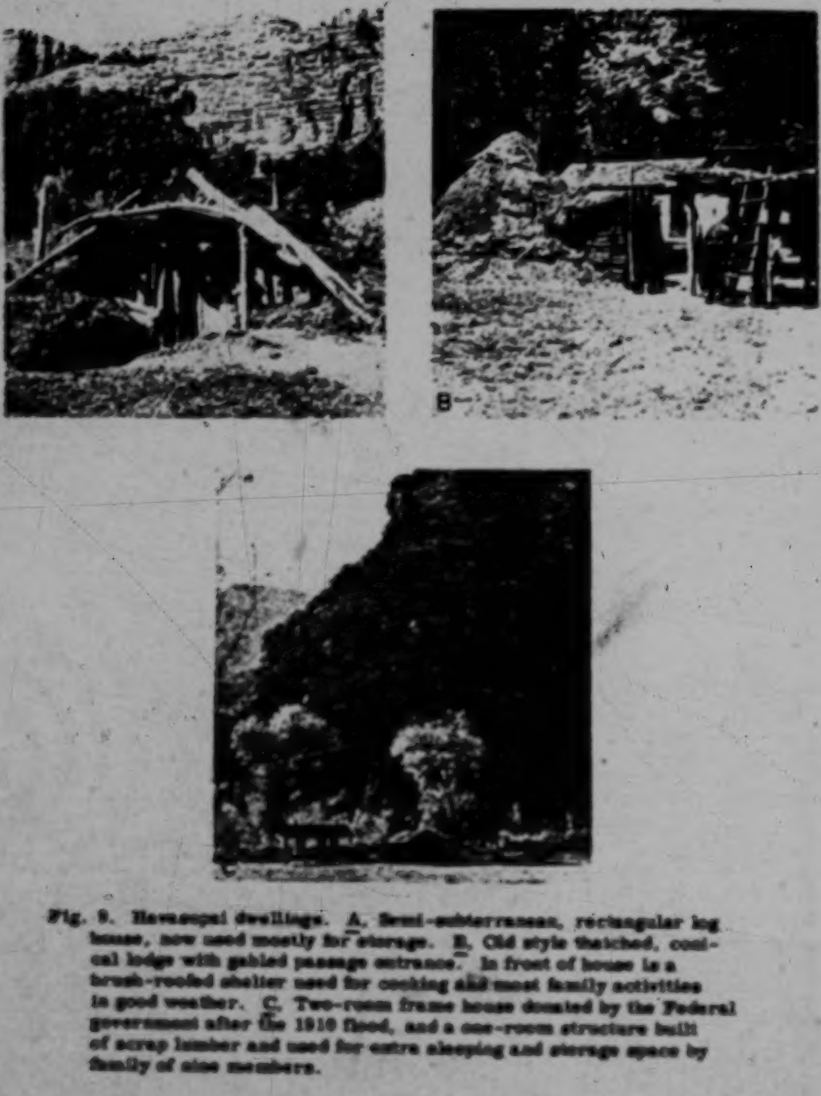

Fig. 9. Havasupai dwellings. A. Semi-subterranean, rectangular log house, now used mostly for storage. B. Old style thatched, conical lodge with gabled passage entrance. In front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most family activities in good weather. C. Two-room frame house donated by the Federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one-room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

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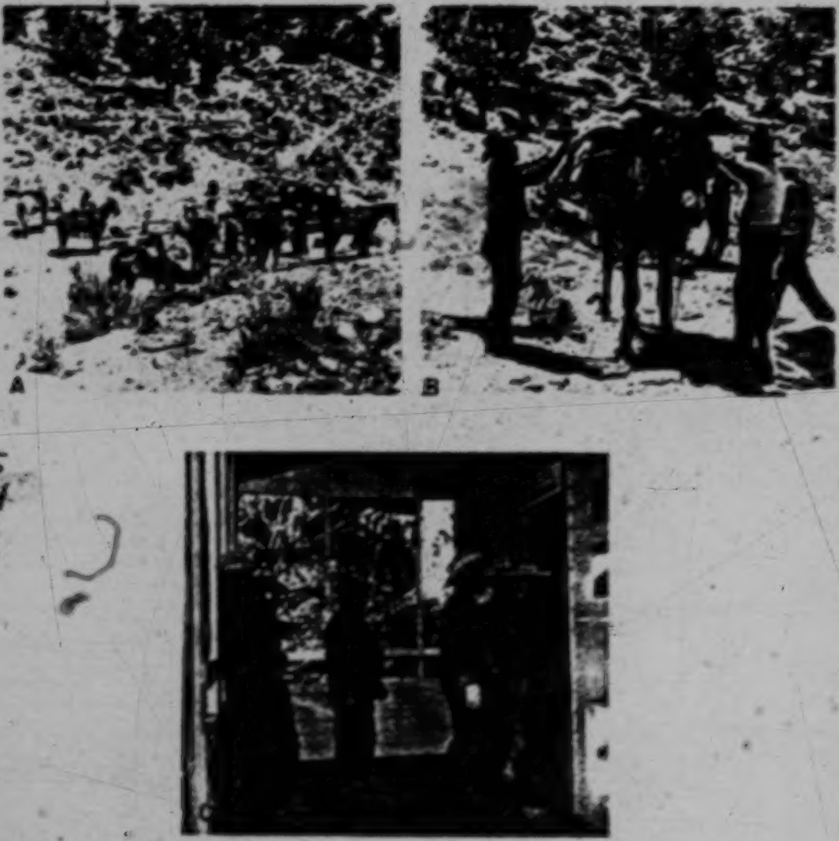

Fig. 10. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck 35 mi. from Canyon to A, Topocoba Hilltop, where B, it is transferred to muleback and carried 14 mi. by trail to C, the Supai post office. When the mules come in sight, people drift toward the post office to wait until letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a 101
branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the 648
latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai
feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic
times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai
and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both
tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate [592]
of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members 197
of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of
utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. 174
Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai 174
tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe 621
which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great 101
Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) 114
notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in
considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined 171
patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract 101
Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and 114
analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the
Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from 172
A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 A. D. 900 and continuing until A. D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. 114 Schwarts has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although 172 Schwarts tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai 101 and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a 114 common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwarts do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. 114 Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. 197 Kroeber (1943, 35) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is vasu´wa, not hàvasu´; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasu were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasú. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai vasu´wa and in Maricopa xavacú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axa´ in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws
which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian
Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the
[624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary
chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected
for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped
621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family
bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built
591 upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few
592 family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary
matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the
birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal
preference or other circumstances.

Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a
592 woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is
[562] constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as
nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and
[591] temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural
ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by
[177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined
with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an
592 extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under
596 modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation
of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the
critical factor it once was.

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered 221
on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. 241
Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their
agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of 114
life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradiction to Spier's that the Havasupai are so 114
largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" 241
(Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to [222]
field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a danger- 574
ously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live 648
with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the 114
plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid- 221
April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips,
lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and [241]
the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent 222
gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal
points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was 311
vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land [423]
were inherited.

311 were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing
frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even to-
[231] day, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon.
Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside
for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer
[131] Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed
only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient
pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made
648 little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans
involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the
1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had
been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls.
[135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai
economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establish-
ment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial
mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did
not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers be-
tween the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and
adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area
between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai
and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and
direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai
plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure
[657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school
in Cataract Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased
isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while
their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years
the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the cold-
est winter months.)

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods 648 and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of [161] relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch [657] program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the 648 Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai 657 Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families 657 (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to 464 Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families re- [484] ceiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident 657 agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 464 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the 465 jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $85; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.

465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
231 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
511 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their
434 cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
166 relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe
[574] remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If
[425] their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to 464
canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 166
264). [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local [431]
employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village.

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai fami- 361
lies occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Hava-
supai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families 162
lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the 166
mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reserva- 161
tion. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent commun-
ity, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for 166
employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon.

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary
employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid serv- [464]
ice, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available.

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or else-
where contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily 434
employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined
221 hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork
461 pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced
178 an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, cer-
221 tain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws
178 restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass
[222] exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that
729 the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed
657 the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation.
311 It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 171

776 177 787 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over [844] the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

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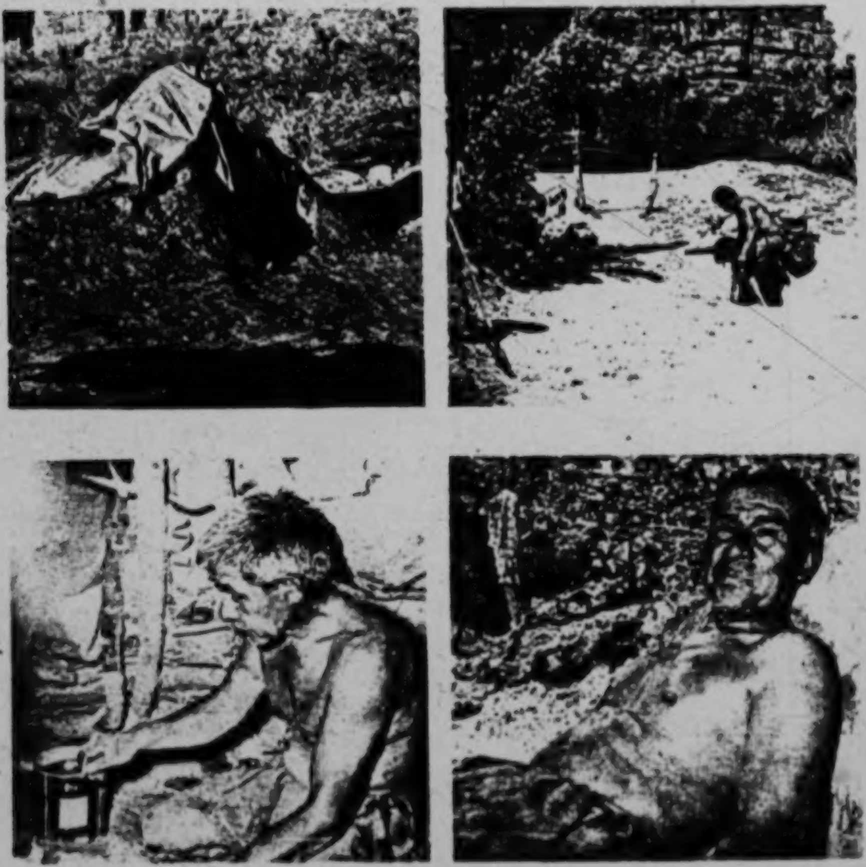

Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A, Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B, Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C, Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D, Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat
bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural conno-
517 tation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men
571 who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and dis-
562 cussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does
757 so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.
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Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

Summary

131 133 This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there.

574 648 While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai.

871 Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents.

177 648 Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation.

178 182 The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her.

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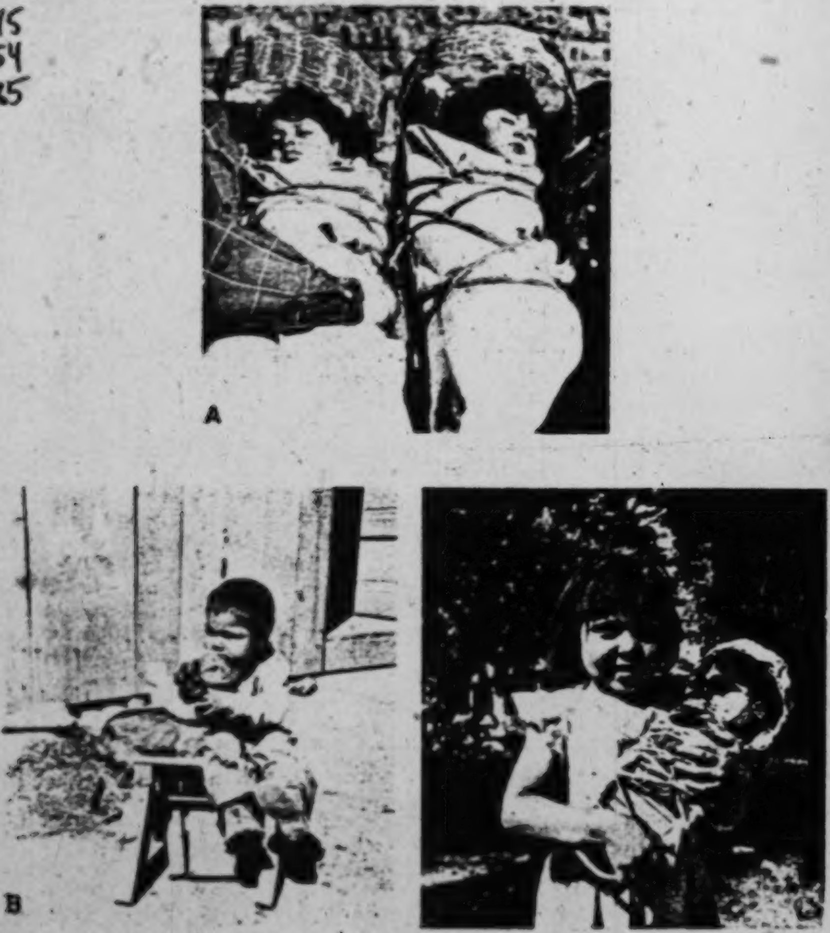

Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rosa Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [344] [237] [177] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was crisscrossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the
cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother
wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he
cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother
[856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens
to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries,
he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time.
The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body
[827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped
in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed,
[165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for
this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were
pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it
across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead
[826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing,
or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may
become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is
that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
512 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep,
854. in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the
infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children
of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak
to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of
his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent
attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug 854
at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a
contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, 854
is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other 857
individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, 152
seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The
strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity
characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously
absent even among older Havasupai children.

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or 854
did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored [482]
to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby
on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The
mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder.
On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried
the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to
gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The
baby was never left alone.

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the [856]
time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle."

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or 854
moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is 856
said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some
object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward
lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand [829]
remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be
left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised
toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small 524
spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 177

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177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [482] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

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868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

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[262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack 757
rabbit tongue ground on a metate.

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward 868
so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his 856
own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother.

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to [291]
walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time.

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved [842]
for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps.

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant 852
of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, 146
and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the
mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and [302]
body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things.

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh meas- 863
ures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the 514
mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use
the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by [516]
stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture,

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended hori-
514 zontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
[516] the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the
baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be
trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet
area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation in-
dicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and
one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would
remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself
after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more
often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught
to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the
training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the geni-
[834] tals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old.
Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without
subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

869 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained,
[177] an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow
long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles
from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the
553 Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous
connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by
his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names
could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four 551
years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her 553
lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law.

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it 551
when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about 576
telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it.

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby 551
is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names.

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a
good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was [291]
given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after [885]
marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard.

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his 591
maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth.

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle 592
rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 310). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less
594 contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than
595 he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then
602 frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members
621 gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared
605 with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence
[591] group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband
[848] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or
[591] who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 866 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 868 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

> "When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 524 533 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. 857 She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends 524 are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother.

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several [177] kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. [237] Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. [386] A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four 857 or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, tradition- 868 ally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. [562] A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, [492] but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride.

857 older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails lead-
868 ing out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop.
492 However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some
[555] distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers
in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests
in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small
boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than
[524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A
boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a
cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with
857 him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried
868 in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.
[535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other
857 hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked,
866 the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested
571 in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending
younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usu- 857
ally asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in 574
visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats [264]
wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children
are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp,
his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is [867]
right."

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven 857
imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, with- 525
out a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and
girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the
public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game.

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far 868
as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek 857
which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai
child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) [481]
A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the [165]
time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this
purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas [515]
older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the
occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor
coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus
forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is
any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot
swim.

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

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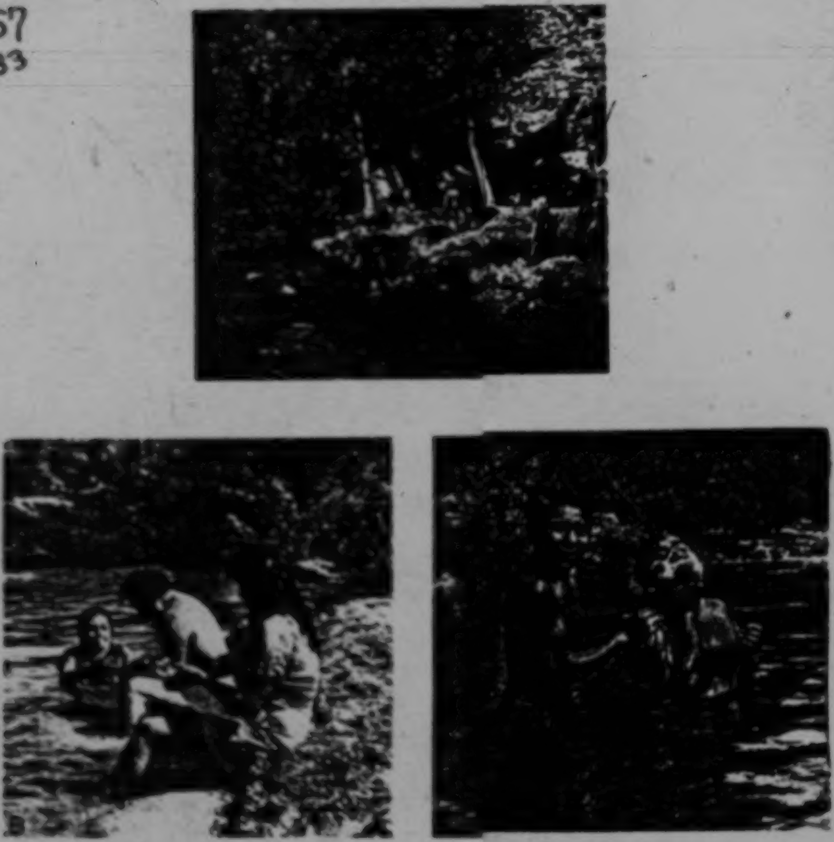

Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and
578 said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued
857 because other people were present. No one was found later who knew,
865 or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not
bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading
[114] this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere,
time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior
rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to
petty jealousies.")

Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed
578 that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he
made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he
[181] (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward
disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is
customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then
861 parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with
everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew
[304] or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the 861
admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone.
However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although
a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. [273]
It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency
before alcohol was available to the Havasupai.

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each 578
other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably 865
less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog.

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from
teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an 861
established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums 865
are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays
are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped
pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another
boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom
he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored
this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching
her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her.
She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then
turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine,
was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for
an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better
mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor
to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar
obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently
was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children,
and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand
Canyon, not in Supai.)

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young 861
child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not 775
ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they
force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened
into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, [825]
a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However,
the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost
threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics
of such animals.

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former 848
times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest 847
upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 178

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase.
The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and
past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described
a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
(1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The
[845] practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility
of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and
848 the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the
household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until
his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his
grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's
age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing
upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely
to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's
greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence
of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his
grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very
young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite
readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself
to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually
resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary
could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is practiced,
[591] provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to
accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence
need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic
enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted
or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or
other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their
camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
848 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate
603 baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital.
The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to
friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from
her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy
and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 609 [586]

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. [578] [157]

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she
remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the
household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorc-
ed woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of father-
[587] hood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less fre-
quently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached,
and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide
their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents.
Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a
somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his resi-
dence if he has a preference.

Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry.
586 At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them re-
593 mained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to
[587] find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict develop-
ed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father
was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for
shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived
[428] alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former
wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all
the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among
the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably
served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, pub-
[787] lic opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various
behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one
time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer wanted her. 586

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipitated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their stepfather. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes, regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working. 586 603

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives, sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance. 586

Children of divorced parents apparently are seldom rejected by either parent. Undoubtedly there is some loss of security when the home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by white children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, and visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to

586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

736 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[768] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 768 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl, who was the exception, had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these nonlineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [591]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
736 which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her
[562] protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 Thereare, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

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578 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

881 Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status.

885 881 It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise.

881 582 Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage.

881 Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do.

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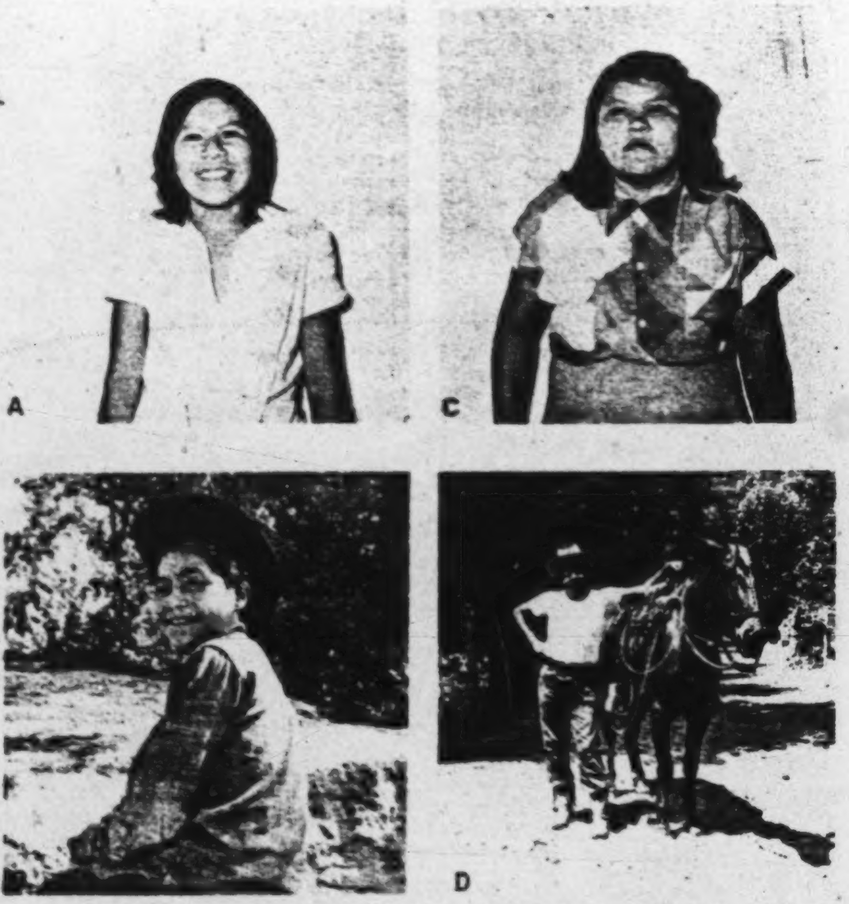

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Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

Training at Puberty

A girl usually is prepared in advance by her mother for the physiological phenomenon of menstration. Apparently the experience is seldom traumatic if it occurs while a girl is living with her parents or relatives. However, among women interviewed on this subject, those who were in boarding school when the first menses occurred, almost without exception reported that they were frightened and did not know what to do, although most of them were not taken by surprise either in the occurrence of menstruation or its characteristics. On the other hand, women who observed puberty at home seemed unable to recall an initial reaction of fright or emotional distress. If they remembered their first reaction, it was described as excitement or nervousness.

While hysteria or extreme trauma was not reported for girls away from home, a few women reported that they were so frightened that they "cried at first," "cried all night," "went off alone and cried," or something similar. Usually, a girl confided in or sought assistance from a friend or matron.

It may be that the nature of the social environment, rather than the physiological phenomenon itself, is the primary cause of the different responses. Whether or not a pubescent girl has prior knowledge of menstruation and its traditional accompanying ritual appears to be a factor of somewhat less importance.

Although a consistent check was not made to determine how much advance knowledge a girl has of the puberty ceremony, and what her attitude toward its observance may be, most pubescent girls probably are aware that certain customs are followed such as a yucca suds bath and shampoo, body and face painting, and lying for a period of some days on a bed placed over heated rocks.

Upon appearance of a girl's first menses, her immediate awareness that the traditional ceremony cannot be performed for her because of her presence at boarding school may contribute to her emotional distress. Another disturbing factor may be the absence of her mother and other close relatives, and her own absence from the environment where she gained her earliest feelings of security. She may be further disquieted if she happens to be poorly adjusted or unreconciled to life away from home.

If a girl's knowledge of the traditional puberty ceremony is meager, older Havasupai girls in the school may instruct her in proper observance of taboos. If they give her a full description of the customary ceremony, with reasons for observance of its various features, this information probably adds to the pubescent girl's apprehension concerning neglect of the proper ritual.

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flausting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butchering, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
773 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned
539 away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but
145 young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
881 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
864 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the
841 presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation áhu X tíga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as áhuát' and red as áhuá'ta by this investigator.

Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
841 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
864 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad.
362 Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, 881
and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. 292
However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses.

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or
sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177]
Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was [386]
stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasion-
ally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual [301]
matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparent-
ly was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822]
emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In
each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made [768]
it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783]
buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826]
pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881
her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515
meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother
[386] with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia
cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it,
because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[641] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the
[177] same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used
by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
386 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a
415 primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a
pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
881 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
302 munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[114] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained
[822] from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red
dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and 881
for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was 302
used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment
for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was ex- [757]
plained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and [827]
can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her [843]
fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be [842]
foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had
seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.)

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side 881
of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines 302
passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a 531
girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her
nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the
eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in
executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial de-
signs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily as- [801]
sociated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines
or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot,
or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of
thighs to the knee.

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for 881
her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, 302
a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This 841
suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions
should be performed, or to their sequence.

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and 881
attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she
runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work.
As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches [751]
her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three suc- [372]
ceeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint
and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at
dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle [482]
of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in work-
ing so that she may attain this ideal.

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a tem- 881
porary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, 343
which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with fire-
wood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth
and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight
and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
887 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a
869 good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, pres-
[263] ent informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
881 the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[237] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used ex-
[531] clusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one inform-
[833] ant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[856] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one
[826] foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual 841
blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating 881
woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would [777]
not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently
located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, [224]
but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating [343]
woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, 881
if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos 177
against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

291
In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, orna- 302
mentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some at- 832
tention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

291 ship period.

302 Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for
832 both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but
[114] some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
291 skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For
daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration con-
[301] sisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[297] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[295] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently
by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in
some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating
that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as contain-
ers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun,
women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrap-
ped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for
dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with
powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one
side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to
the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and
[302] white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and
was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for
both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and
[768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed
upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women
[177] had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, 291
and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses [177]
purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing
machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of
clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby
socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also
wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home.

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses
from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able
to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said
that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with
other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The 291
dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of 287
them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair
of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the
tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the
margin of which lay the Havasupai."

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow 302
level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders.
Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but
occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on
either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied to-
gether strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the
remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided 302
them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a 177
primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding
the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the
hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in
the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them.

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice 302
are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they 515
are discovered on a child.

302 are discovered ~~on a child~~.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any 302
wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't 856
smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines
there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that [841]
time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants 302
but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this inform-
ant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frown-
ing. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is [181]
seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression. [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of 515
their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual 836
relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small 864
girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid ex- 834
posing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual over-
864 tures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any
of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's
presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather
than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or
extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, com-
monly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic
isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities
to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
867 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
609 Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors,
other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were
in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated fami-
lies resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that,
ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[827] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When
[864] girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would
result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has
[177] broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today
come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
574 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close
neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract
Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play
groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have
been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meet-
ings.

Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later
571 at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [684]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [183]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
834 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact
with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was
836 the more disorganised of the two.

It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
836 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
183 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation
residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary
178 change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more
frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a
wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
834 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the sub-
864 ject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling
her she will become pregnant.

It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
834 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom
684 was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a
cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both re-
plied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid
to beat him because he would fight back.

Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
834 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several
864 years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking
together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in
secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt 571
his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed 834
by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them.

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 841
12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with 834
a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but
it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the 684
other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in 827
the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse
but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior.

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, 684
the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls.
Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public 834
activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are
overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent
their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever
possible.

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye 832
on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered
the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial
"Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male [548]
population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled
by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported
that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she
lives alone.

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes 584
flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young 834
couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together.
Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away
separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time.

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimminghole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); 626
(5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the 183
only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken.

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, 684
public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of 626
the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him.

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. 848
Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile."

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children. 848

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a 554
time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 626

848 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the
554 term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the
father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry,
626 no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or riduculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, origi-
548 nates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her
626 and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on 603
proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensiblyrather 861
than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks 867
willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered
too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them.

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her 867
parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present.

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories 603
as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, 538
but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. 867
These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories.

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.) 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

562 Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain incon-
577 sistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two
183 such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloof-
ness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast
with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances,
and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife
relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal
[609] feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both
girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan
or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their
family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to
entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is per-
missible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about
with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants con-
cur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was
alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared
being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to re-
turn later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible
suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

562 Women, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their
183 camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding
609 parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of
danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such
raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat
to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. 562
The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired 183
similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understand- 609
ing of the danger was acquired.

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family 562
camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness 834
of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and
taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related 183
females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males.

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain 183
chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain 562
circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior 597
was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify.

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the 183
father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife,
as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence 562
of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were 593
the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission
to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one [861]
woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline.

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired
his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided [581]
a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage.

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the [591] traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of [836] occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 834 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. [836] (The Havasupai point of view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 842 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 836 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering 584 strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [576] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's 584
camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may 576
pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious.

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many 584
courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood.

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in child- 864
hood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of 836
sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. 584
Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know."

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of court- 581
ship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cul- 183
tural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a
basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such 832
terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth [762]
of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for caus- [208]
ing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired.

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition,
208 and the cultural *abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the*
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded
in so recent an example.)

Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection
584 of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
585 it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage
[302] when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
[841] groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive
days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
582 pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages 582
lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few
months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible [586]
permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married.

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 12, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine
affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at
Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased
sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying
together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their day- [626]
time leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual inter-
est. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised
[626] the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later
on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually
keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether
they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there
like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, pres-
[626] ent during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a
short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occur-
red and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to
them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than
a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made
no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was
clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's
mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of
the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before
the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the
foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a
testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other,
but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned
and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the
boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent.
The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older
generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar insta-
bility in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[636] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
183 marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 80 (too young to have

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. 582
That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in 585
his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage:

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the 582
boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it.

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was
recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, some- [591]
times no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.)

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He
wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. 114
I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite 582
warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional
114 behavior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself,and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter.
[431] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistence, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

585 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those
586 times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in
584 advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
582 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
584 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of
178 parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or
177 allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some
another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a sad-
585 dle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or
whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were
well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift.
[177] In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in
at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were
acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

587 viving children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to."

587 768 Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 223), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule."

587 Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years.

585 In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also [181] usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused.

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her 595
relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment [208]
is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none."

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. 582
Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex mar- 583
ried a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls.

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 1[illegible] males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

162 the males for all the Colorado River tribes." (Spier observed that Hrdlička, on the contrary, had found in the 1900 census an excess of females over males after age 55 among all Indian tribes.)

[163] [165] Recorded data for the past decade, and data obtained for about a decade immediately preceding it, reveal a significantly higher proportion of Havasupai males in the ratio at birth, with a consistently higher infant and early childhood mortality rate for males. In the 1950 population below age 10, the group total was 55 males and 28 females, almost exactly two males to each female. Between the ages of 10 and 50, a nearly balanced sex ratio exists in all age brackets.

Spier (1928, 209) found that above and below the ages of 20 and 45 the sexes were nearly equal in numbers in 1918, and equality in these groups has continued to the present. (The individuals whose ages were below 20 in 1918 would have been 28 to 48 in 1950, and those over 45 would have been over 73 in 1950).

Among possible causes of excess in males among the Havasupai, female infanticide must be ruled out, because the inequality did not appear above or below the age group in which the excess appeared in the 1918 population, and since that time the sexes have been equal in number at that age. Although a few young women were stolen now and then by enemy tribes in past times, the number kidnapped in a given generation probably was insignificant, and such raids would have ceased before the turn of the century. Thus, it would have no bearing on the 20 to 45 age bracket of 1918. A cause which suggests itself for the particular group in question is a measles epidemic which reduced the 1903 population of 237 to 177 in 1905--if, for some reason, fatalities were much greater among females than among males. Unfortunately, we have no record of individual deaths for that time. [165]

Above the age of 50, the longevity and survival rate of males over females is marked, but it should be noted that the 1950 population above that age is comprised almost entirely of the group Spier observed at the ages of 20 to 45, and which, in 1918, had a male-female ratio of two to one. Thus, the present imbalance in the older age levels developed while these generations were passing through earlier age brackets, and is not a recent development, except that the age ratio has become more marked in favor of males as the group advanced in age. Spier (1928, 209) suggests possible loss in childbirth to explain the discrepancy noted by him. Available data reveal that, despite the larger number of males born, by the age of 20 the sex ratio has reached a balance throughout the last 30 year period and that, in the group now between 20 and 50, it has maintained that balance. This may support Spier's thesis, since it is this age group that has had the first improved medical care in childbirth and various feminine disorders.

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

000 Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

582 Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postponement of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 223). Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

582 127 Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other 582
sources for both bride and groom. (See Table 1 for presentation of this 127
and other information.)

582 In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 26.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 15.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages 21 to 25, while the previously married grooms were 35 and 41 years old. The youngest bride was 12, and the eldest 18.

For comparison, data pertaining to 12 marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage, in which the wife was the elder, is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 24.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from age 19 to 34. Previously unmarried females ranged from 14 to 20 years of age. Previously married grooms were 29 to 50 years old, with a mean age of 39.3 years, while previously married brides were 26 to 36 years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and is the mother of six children, the first two of whom are illegitimate, while her husband has not been married previously.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individial spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 39.3 years were marrying their second or

[Text continues on page 106]

Table 1. Mean age of spouses at marriage.

A. Mean age at marriage for couples, regardless of whether either party had been married or unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (7 couples)	26.8 years	15.0 years	11.8 years
1950-54 (9 couples)	30.5 years	19.1 years	11.0 years

B. Mean age at marriage for couples in which both spouses were unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (5 couples)	22.4 years	15.0 years	6.6 years
1950-54 (5 couples)	24.6 years	17.0 years	7.6 years

582

C. **Mean age at marriage for previously unmarried individuals. (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)**

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	22.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

[587]

D. **Mean age at marriage for previously married individuals**

E. **Mean age at marriage of new spouses of previously married individuals.**

	D.		E.	
Date	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years			13.0 years
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0	35.6 years	22.7 years

Table 2. Residence of family heads with respect to age.

Age Groups	Family Heads		
	Off Reservation	On Reservation	
	Male	Male	Female
75-79		3	
70-74	1	4	
65-69	1		1
60-64	2	7	1
55-59	1	1	1
50-54		4	
45-49	3		1
40-44	5		1
35-39	5	1	
30-34	3		1
25-29	2		
20-24	1		
Totals	24	20	6

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1950-54 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally [114] favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.)

582
587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five [584] of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms.

A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. 582 In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 46 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households and some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

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Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women 582 than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary 591 matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. 592 In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear 594 family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had [591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a
mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present
economic standard.

Divorce

Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier
586 (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted sev-
eral examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at
the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separa-
tions following trial marriages.

Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
586 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
578 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed
at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his
627 Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and
separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
586 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
837 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the
684 hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her
as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up.
One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the hus-
band about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they
could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, espe- 586
cially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was 837
usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman 684
instead."

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife 586
almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them.

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was un- 586
heard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to 842
this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past.

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second 586
woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, 595
although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, 842
noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced.

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked,
842 "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help
her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an
unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately
although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously
described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally,
matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a
marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real
marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier
remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of
[114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai.
She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
581 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account.
586 However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples
have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the
first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the
absence of children is not a factor.

At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
587 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no
842 children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept
house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond
childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once
separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of
the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives
have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
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three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced. 586 587 842

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses. 593 581

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Sharing the Work

462 593 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 562 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 578 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband 593
or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in 578
settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband.

Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection. If 593
affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence.

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships, although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Al-
842 though a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act,
826 popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of
843 pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood,
826 but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered
842 its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two
774 or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women fore-
842 tell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

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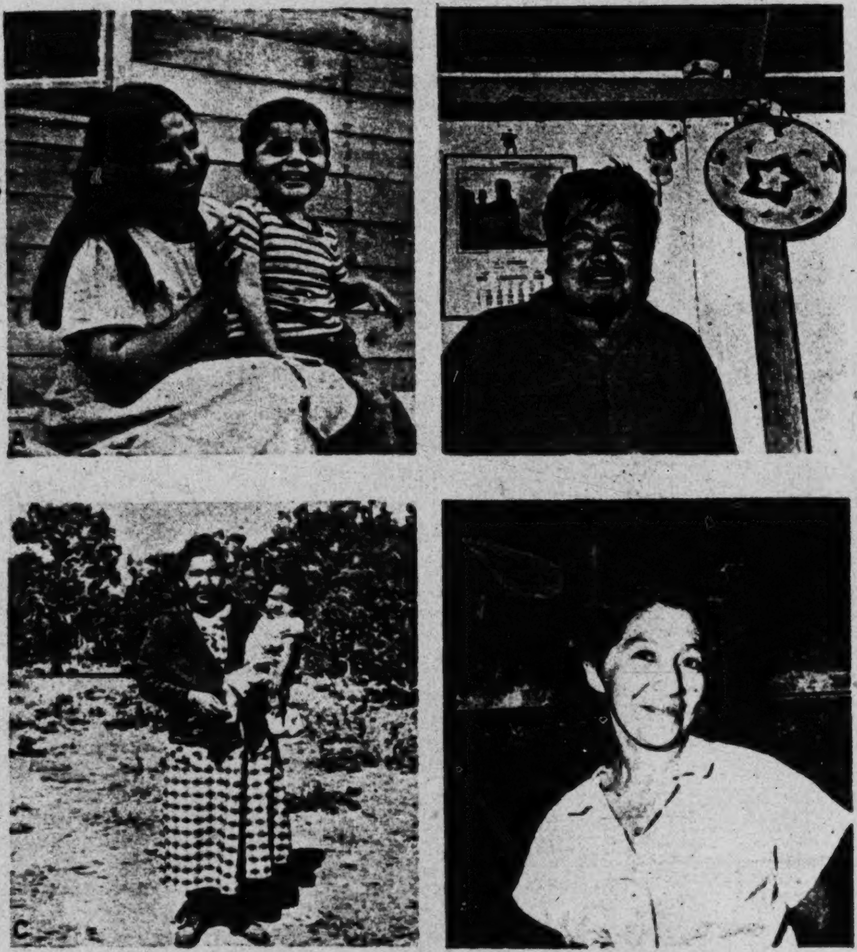

Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continunce ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843/ 789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the 843
plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We 789
have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the
river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time.

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband [777]
or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, [525]
"But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time."

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and 843
her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself."

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either, that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, 843
liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to 262
chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines 825
or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proxi- [753]
mity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death.

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses. "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear
[787] a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

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Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods. 2

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

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Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

Informant I:

842 159 "I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

[439] "Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in danger
of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
756 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the
844 grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right.
If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat
844 or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together. Then she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semisupine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, 300) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out."
845 During delivery the woman squats, with her husband holding her up. If a

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports,"A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 519] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 165 [177] Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. 844
It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens 177
to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery; only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with 593
household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers 461
about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she 855
can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works
she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. [854]
She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

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Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or inter- 593
feres with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, 578
resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 604

593 578 603 604 [586] tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situation. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law) wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 462 [576] When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 861 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 736 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

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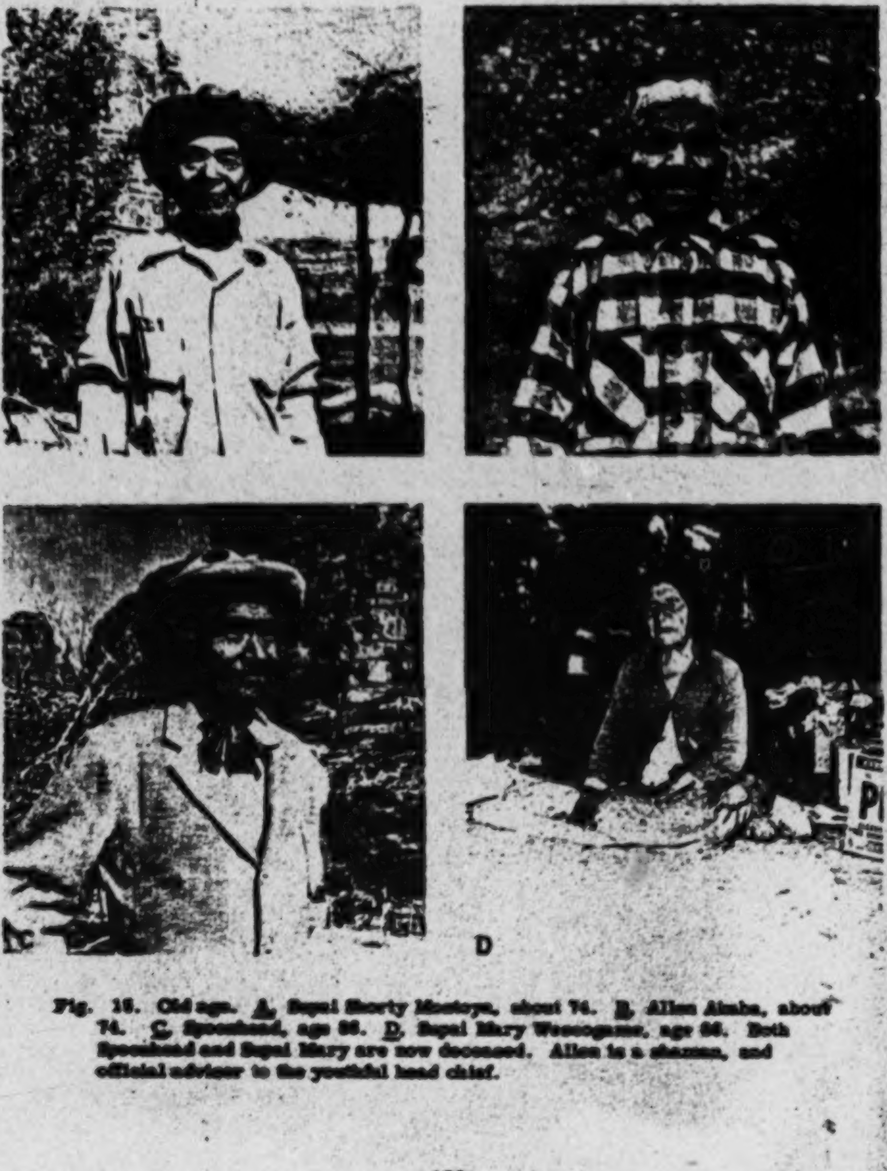

Fig. 15. Old age. A, Supai Shorty Montoya, about 74. B, Allen Akaba, about 74. C, Spoonhead, age 85. D, Supai Mary Wescogame, age 86. Both Spoonhead and Supai Mary are now deceased. Allen is a shaman, and official advisor to the youthful head chief.

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew
593 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
854 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
736 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with
591 her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
888 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often
737 live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

888 737 relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food.

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

[145] [515] She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so.

[262] [415] [264] She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth.

[314] [482] [574] The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms.

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All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just de-
[145] scribed, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair,
[481] and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate
[153] and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they
[562] do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported 764
by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper.

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments,
wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug
for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the
Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held [177]
for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the
desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead [768]
person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned tempo-
rarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site.
A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent
years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees
may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes [114]
that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were con- [423]
sidered personal property.

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been
held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established [114]
among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that [171]
"a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of
a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the [765]
Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the
San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Wal- [769]
apai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems
contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their
ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popu-
lar. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son.

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives [551]
of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and
other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget
quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his
relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the [787]
land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a [755]
shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de-

764 ceased away thus saving the dreamer from death.

There is no great difference in the death customs for women and men [562] except that the latter are likely to be honored by dancing and singing on more nights and may have more property, such as horses, destroyed for them. This apparently is a consequence of the fact that men generally acquire greater prestige than do women, and men are likely to own more property.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited 462 among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children.

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so [224] trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility.

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and [114] was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." [224] As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. To- [281] day, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while [476] he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai
obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types
and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me
not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it
might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was
made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However,
an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a
couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women
braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand
in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow
match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light.
Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced
these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every
baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman
may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking 462 were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous.

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but [222] trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. [476] Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs.

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, [251] it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it.

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that [323] the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, [317] and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men.

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry mate- [285] rials were sometimes gathered by men.

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty [306] or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family [342] affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [476]

462 [342] [476] for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials changing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

462 439 Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe, each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 177 562 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a corresponding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 464 177 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, 464
women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tour- 177
ist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the
Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in 562
popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is
inadequate for time and effort expended.

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white familes in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to com-
plete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level [872]
or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can ob-
tain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison
with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the
whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys.

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to 422
personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other 562
work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or
other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In ad-
dition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.

562 In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing,
tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today,
[768] it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom own-
ed anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive
groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original
owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con-
428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
428 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who
177 failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that
among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including
land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of owner-
ship and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women
have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that
this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in
emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title
562 might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the econom-
ic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those
who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Hava-
supai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning
land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of
562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on
the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under ques-
tioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it,
would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under
circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears
that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such
lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the
basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from 423
their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception,
in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the 428
son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good 562
example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.)

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had
dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children [587]
remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry.

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

423 nance of herself and her children.

428 562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 428 562 578 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands, remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

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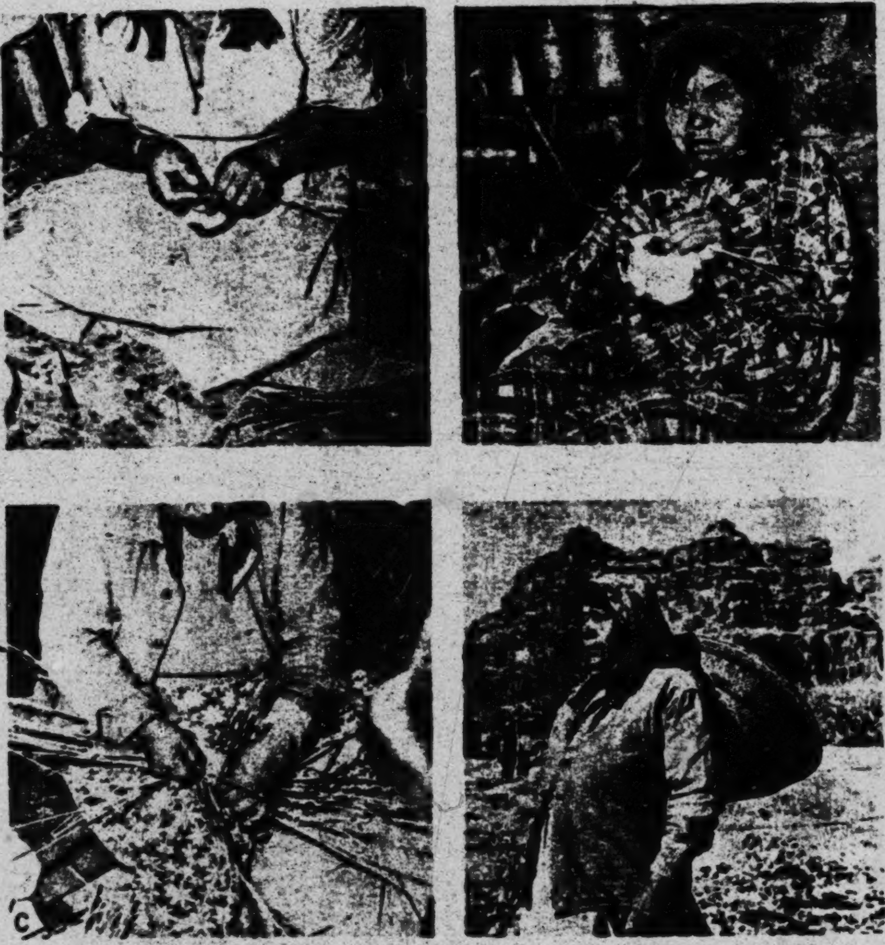

Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Putesoy, Lina Kiticava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1950, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back, Spier (1928, 127) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black strips from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the strips being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs. 285 531

Spier (1928, 155) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai." [171]

Spier (1928, 128-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here. [114]

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her. 285

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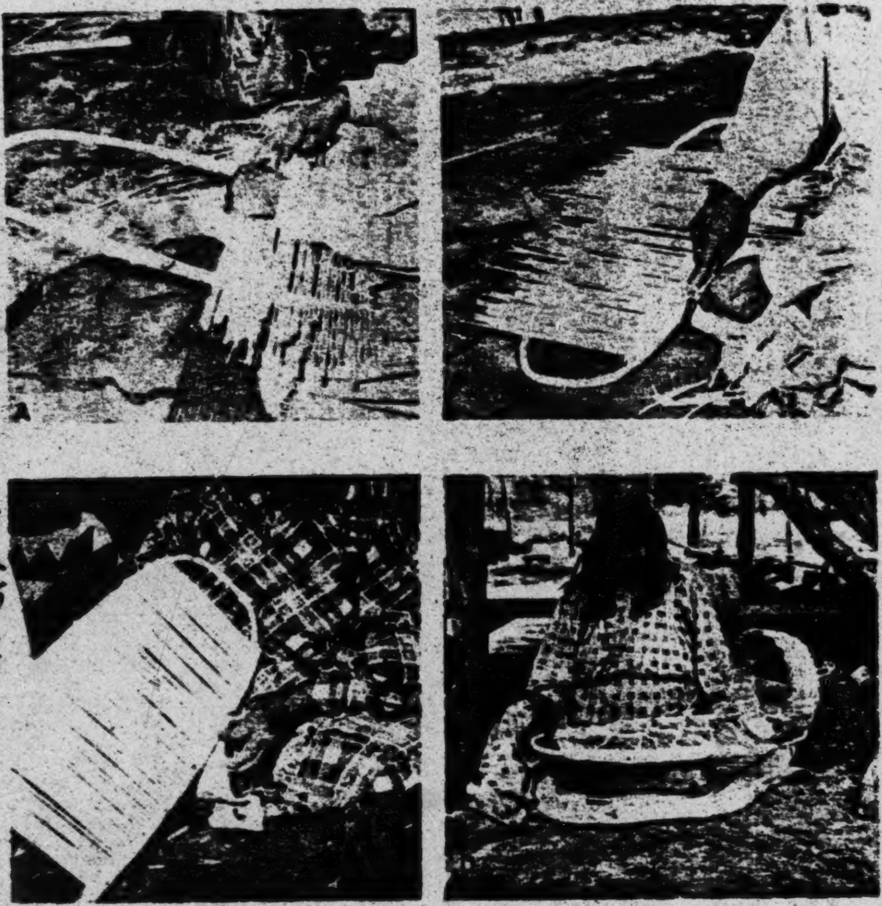

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Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lisa Iditicava displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong; and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

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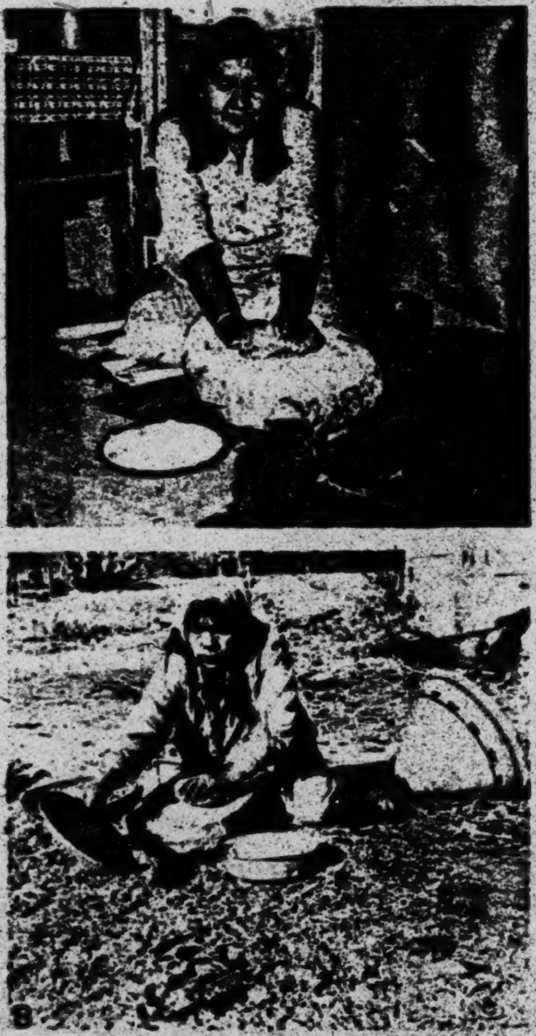

Fig. 33. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Putesoy prepares green corn for johnny cake type of bread. B. Mamie Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, aqlisa (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath ner, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djɨ). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

252 262 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

[251] Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

[177] In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

252 262 177 Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, 111) traces to Hopi contact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dis ' -vá' i -ɬúdt. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 262 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual 252
flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with un- 262
shelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it.

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cook- 272
ed until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. 262
A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use.

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an 252
open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because 262
natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour.

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage,
berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, 251
were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes.

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses.
The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no [343]
longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit.

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Tribal Government

612 [562] Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women never attained such eminence. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier (1928, 235-6) describes chieftainship as follows:

"Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women....Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions....such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....

"Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief..."

Spier reported that in 1920 there were six chiefs. The Havasupai in [549] [542] 1939 adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council consisting "of four regular councilmen, and three hereditary chiefs of the tribe, who shall be selected by the remaining subchiefs of the tribe. Each of the chiefs, as regular members of the council, shall continue his duties as councilman until death or resignation, at which time a new chief shall be selected by the subchiefs."

The custom of inheritance of chieftainship is thus overruled by the tribal constitution, but it continues to influence Havasupai thinking. Four examples may be cited: (1) Chief Big Jim, a childless man, died in 1950. Public sentiment clearly focused upon, but was divided among, several men who were of almost equal degrees of relationship to him. No decisive action was taken until 1953, when William Little Jim, son of Big Jim's half-brother, was chosen chief. (2) Chief Watahomidja was succeeded at his death in 1947 by his eldest son, Jim Watahomigie. (3) Chief Manakaja

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest
son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Hava- 642
supai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall
be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion
was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and
the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized
as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one
chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it
is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of
present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who em-
body the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership.
These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and
have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, how-
ever, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than
the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who 622
wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for
gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old
men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individ-
uals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not
all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was
said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him.
He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

622 597 562 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator assumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 562 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 562 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1956, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

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Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows.

[857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

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A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing.

[571]

[732]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit.

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an 721
Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows
he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close 562
before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home.

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting 695
territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe.

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were 695
very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most 578
disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families.
When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consult- 562
ed if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted.

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on 888
matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true 602
if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good 582
memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the
cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make 562
what is considered an improper marriage.

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social 867
behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 562

867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed
883 at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was ob-
served during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or
[573] groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together
as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart
from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been
much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best
looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as
[548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence
[896] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities
were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
883 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
578 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house
156 in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her
presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. 579 Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the 578 man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women 837 probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting 762 (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, 762 shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable,
depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other
factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain
persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version
of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who want-
ed the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is
said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set
fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the
death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day
before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and
others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware
that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position
of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the
burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old
man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could
make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the [114]
opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen,
might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly [158]
may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire
got out of hand.

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai 683
medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by
poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman 754
while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with
an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death.
Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified
562 by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She
867 herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper
181 feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a
181 relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine
562 position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed
867 path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their 181
position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical 562
abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other
conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with 867
equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting [578]
in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be
certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai [177]
woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which
formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical 152
nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. 181
These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai
men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes 562
at a woman's expense.

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, 181
the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. 562
Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal
clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and
largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life.
(Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953;
Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by
Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, 421
home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women 562
thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In
addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons,
brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men
aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and [221]
crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter
to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped
seasonally at family gardening plots.

586 562 A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband. [177]

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward. [423]

562 648 While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). [439] The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. [582] Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights. [177]

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, 181
emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and
mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the 562
economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected
to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai [581]
culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an
ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this,
the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject 477
only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of
course, for masculine attention and support. 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules 181
of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a
good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular 562
situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree.

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